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AND
COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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1849.





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TO

## THE TWENTY-FIFTH VOLUME

OF THE

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# THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

AND

## COLONIAL JOURNAL.

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VOL. XXV.]

WASHINGTON, NOVEMBER, 1849.

[No. 11.]

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Three thousand dollars wanted in thirty days.

THE Society has been applied to for a passage to Liberia in the next vessel for upwards of SIXTY slaves, left by will near Murfreesboro', North Carolina, with the privilege of emigrating if the Society can pay their expenses. They are represented to us to be a most worthy and excellent family, and all anxious to go to Liberia.

It will require three thousand dollars to defray the expenses of their passage, and support them six months after they land there. But the Society has no funds in hand at present to apply to this object; while the whole of the receipts, upon which we can calculate with any certainty for many months to come, are appropriated to other urgent necessities. We therefore invite attention to the following proposal:

*The way to raise three thousand dollars in thirty days.*

A gentleman in Alabama proposes "to be one of thirty to contribute \$100 each for the purpose of

defraying the expenses of colonizing the family of about sixty from near Murfreesboro', North Carolina, who have, by the will of their late master, the privilege of going to Liberia in the next packet."

The gentleman who has sent us this proposal has been a warm friend of the Society, and a liberal annual contributor to its funds. The above offer evinces the deep interest which he feels in the success of the enterprise.

We hope there are *twenty-nine* others of like spirit, who will be ready to join him in the noble endeavor to send to Liberia this large and interesting family. We lose no time in laying his offer before the philanthropic, and trust they will promptly respond to the call. There is no time to be lost. We expect the Liberia Packet will return from her present voyage in time to sail again about the 1st of December next, at which time they must go, if they go at all.

## That new race of Men.

THE "Kingdom of Bare," where *those tall men* live, mentioned in our last number, is situated on the Nile, near the Equator. Mehemet Ali's explorers ascended the Nile to lat.  $4^{\circ} 42' 42''$ , E. long.  $31^{\circ} 38'$ , where their progress was arrested by a ridge of gneiss, crossing the stream from east to west. Ten or fifteen days' journey to the east, they were told, was a large country called Berri, bounded on the south by a branch of the Nile; but where the expedition stopped, the country was called Bare. Even if both names are substantially one, the whole country must lie on the western slope of the great mountain range which separates the valley of the Nile from the coast of the Indian Ocean. Information obtained in Bare renders it nearly certain, that the source of the Nile is south of the Equator. Farther south, on the same great slope facing the west, is the great empire, as it has been called, of the Mono-moezi, or Monemugi, for some account of which, see Af. Rep. for January, 1847. Later investigations, however, show that the country of the Mono-moezi, and its great lake Zambezi, or the N'yassi, must be carried some two or three degrees farther to the north, than that article represents; so that the source of the Nile is to be sought in their country, and not improbably in that lake; of which, perhaps, more may be said at another time. The people of Bare,

therefore, and the Mono-moezi, inhabit the same western slope—which is a very gentle slope—of the same mountain range, and their boundaries cannot be more than 200 or 300 miles apart. The article in the Repository for Jan. 1847, just referred to, locates the Mere-mongao, (a people perhaps still more civilized,) on the northeast of the Mono-moezi, in about lat.  $3^{\circ}$  S., long.  $35^{\circ}$  E. This, making the necessary correction in the latitude, would place them directly south of Berri. It seems probable that the people of Bare, of Berri, the Mere-mongao and the Mono-moezi, are of the same race, and of nearly the same degree of civilization; for which, see the account of the latter already referred to.

As to their stature, there is reason to suppose it rather large. In 1839, the Rev. E. Burgess, American missionary at Ahmednuggur, India—while on his way to his mission stopped at Zanzibar, for the purpose of collecting information concerning the people of that part of Africa; and through the kindness of R. P. Waters, Esq., American Consul, he enjoyed unusual facilities. He was made acquainted with several of the Mono-moezi, then at Zanzibar, and among others, with one who was said to be heir-apparent to the throne. He was told that a majority of the men are over six feet high. Of four whom he measured, the average height was five feet and ten inches. The tallest



was almost six feet. The account adds: "Many of his countrymen were taller than himself, some even a whole head. The same was represented to be true of the other tribes. Yet, as I saw none of such a remarkable statue at Zanzibar, the matter, I conclude, must have been over stated." The Mono-moezi appeared to Mr. Burgess more enterprising, more intelligent, and on the whole more interesting, than the other

tribes, and were said to be the richest in that part of Africa. It does not appear that he saw or heard any thing of the Mere-mongao, or the people of Bare.

From these facts, compared with the article of Jan. 1847, already referred to, the reader may form a probable conjecture as to the civilization of the Kingdom of Bare, and the size of its inhabitants.

### Memorial in behalf of the American Colonization Society.

To the Honorable, the Senate and

House of Representatives of the State of Ohio.

THE undersigned, citizens of the State of Ohio, ask leave to represent to your honorable body, that since the Colony of Liberia has declared its Independence, and been recognized by the principal governments of Europe, the reaction upon the United States has given such an impulse to the work of emancipating the slave, and such an impetus to the aspirations of the free colored man to enjoy the privileges of freemen, that the Colonization Society is no longer able to meet the demands made upon its treasury.

The Independence of Liberia was declared in 1847. During that and the two preceding years only 330 emigrants had been sent, averaging 110 a year. But in 1848 the Society had applications to the number of about one thousand for a passage to Liberia, nearly all of whom have been sent, and are now in the enjoyment of the blessings of citizens of a free Republic. Of this number nearly three-fourths were emancipated slaves, sent by their masters back to their father-land.

For the present year we have as-

surances that, besides a large number of colored freemen who have made known their desire to emigrate, *Ten Thousand Slaves* are in the offer of the Society, who will be liberated as soon as provision can be made for their removal.

This immense increase of the demands made upon the Society, places it wholly beyond its power to carry out the enterprise by a reliance, as heretofore, upon the voluntary contributions of benevolent individuals. The importance of sustaining the Society, at the present crisis in its operations, and preventing disappointment to the applicants, must be apparent to every one. If it is enabled to meet all the demands made upon it, and thus to rescue 10,000 men from Slavery the present year, there can be but little doubt, that the moral effect produced will greatly increase the emancipations in future; and there can be as little doubt, but that intelligent free colored men, seeing the way opened to secure to their children all the social, political, and educational advantages of Liberia, will also eagerly continue to flock to the new Republic, that they may aid in civilizing the eighty

millions of their brethren in Africa, and of raising them to their true position among nations.

But as this great work cannot be prosecuted efficiently except the States and General Government afford some aid, we respectfully ask that you will, at the present session, make an appropriation to the American Colonization Society of—say \$5,000 a year for ten years. This sum, though it will be less than 1¼ mills to the \$100 of valuation of taxable property of the State, and only 2½ mills to each of its inhabitants, will send out ONE HUNDRED EMIGRANTS ANNUALLY.

Such has been the deep interest manifested heretofore, by the public in the cause of the oppressed African, and such the amount of public money expended annually in discussions upon the subject in our legislative bodies, that we approach you with confidence, believing, that as the dawn of Africa's redemption is now clearly appearing, through the light of the rising star of the Republic of Liberia, you will not hesitate to appropriate a much larger sum than we have named. And, as it is now conceded that the Slave Trade can only be suppressed by co-

lonizing the coast of Africa, the cause of Humanity, as well as the welfare of the colored people in our country, we believe, demands that the patronage of the State should at once be added to that of the voluntary contributions of individuals, so as to secure a speedy extension of Civilization and Christianity into the heart of that benighted land.

The members of the Ohio Methodist Conference, and of the Old School Presbyterian Synod of Cincinnati, have all signed the above petition.

We hope similar petitions will be circulated in all parts of the State, and numerous signed and sent in to the next legislature.

What a noble work the legislatures of both the free and the slave States might thus perform, by laying aside their contests with each other, and uniting their strength to push forward this great enterprise of sending to a land of freedom and of hope the free colored people of this country.

---

### **History of Colonization on the Western Coast of Africa:**

By ARCHIBALD ALEXANDER, D. D., Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, N. J.

Second Edition. Philadelphia: Published by Wm. S. Martien. 8vo., pp. 657.

THIS volume contains a large amount of valuable information, on a subject of great importance both to this country and to the continent of Africa. The planting of a colony of free blacks on the Western Coast of Africa, hardly thirty years since, has already resulted in the establishment of a Republic, under whose protection Christian ministers, teach-

ers and their coadjutors, are diffusing the blessings of the Gospel and the arts of civilized life, among thousands of the natives of that land. The origin, progress and fruits of this enterprise, which has encountered prejudice and indifference and hostility at every step, will at length be regarded with intense interest. Its history will occupy a luminous

and honored place in the philanthropic annals of the nineteenth century. This interesting history is narrated in order from the origin of the colony at Sierra Leone to the Declaration of Independence and the establishment of the Republic of Liberia, in the work before us. We commend it to the public as the

only connected history yet given of a great and good enterprise, which merits the attention and cordial support of all who wish well to the African race.

For sale by the Publisher, 142 Chestnut Street, above Sixth, Philadelphia.

---

### *A Lecture on African Colonization:*

DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF OHIO, BY DAVID CHRISTY, ESQ.  
AGENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

THIS is a pamphlet of some 56 pages. The lecture was delivered in Columbus, Ohio, before the Legislature, the 19th of January last, and was published by request of the members, or a large number of them. It discusses the subject of Colonization in Africa in connection with the history of the Slave Trade, and the efforts which have been made for the benefit of the African race. It dwells with particular interest upon the successful establishment of Liberia, the practicability of colonizing the free people of color of the United States, and the bearings of the enterprise on the natives of Africa and operations of Christian missionaries.

We give up the present number almost entirely to this Lecture. We regret that we have not been able to publish it sooner. The importance of the views and reasonings will commend them to every reader. We hope to insert the remainder in the next number.

Ever since the fall of man and his expulsion from that Eden of bliss, assigned him in his state of innocence, a warfare has been waged between good and evil. The conflict has been varied in its results, sometimes good and at others evil having the ascendancy. But why it is that an all-wise, all-powerful, omniscient and infinitely benevolent Being should have permitted the introduction of moral evil into the world, and in his providence allow its continuance, we cannot determine, nor shall we wait to inquire.

We believe that errors of judgment and opinion, and all evil actions, and every form of wickedness and injustice in the world, have their origin in the moral depravation of man's nature, and that the contest between good and evil will necessarily continue until there shall be a moral renovation of his heart. This moral depravation of man's nature being general, its effects are universal, and the whole world has been but a theatre upon which continued developments of its workings have been exhibited.

We believe that God has made provision for man's moral redemption,—for creating in him a new



heart and renewing a right spirit within him—and that the Gospel of Christ is the medium through which this blessing flows to mankind. And believing this, we have full confidence in the success of all enterprises for the amelioration of the condition of mankind, which embrace the Christian religion as the basis of their operations.

The history of African slavery forms one of the darkest pages in the catalogue of woes introduced into the world by human depravity. Originating on the islands connected with this continent in an error of judgment, in a mind actuated by motives of benevolence, it has been productive of an accumulation of human suffering which affords a most painful illustration of the want of foresight in man, and the immensity of the evils which misguided philanthropy may inflict upon our race.

In attempting to bring up in review this enormous evil in its origin and various aspects, as connected with colonization, the subject naturally divides itself into the following heads:

- I. The origin of the slave trade with the efforts made for its suppression.
- II. The measures adopted at an early day for the emancipation of the slaves introduced into the United States, with the results.
- III. The provision to be made for the people of color when liberated.
- IV. The practicability of colonizing the free colored people of the United States.
- V. The effects of colonization on the native Africans, and upon the missionary efforts in Africa.
- VI. The certainty of success of the colonization scheme, and of the perpetuity of the Republic of Liberia.

I. A Portuguese exploring expedition was in progress, in 1434, along the west coast of Africa,

having in view the double object of conquering the Infidels and finding a passage by sea to India. Under the sanction of a bull of Pope Martin V, they had granted to them the right to all the territories they might discover, and a plenary indulgence to the souls of all who might perish in the enterprise, and in recovering those regions to Christ and his church. Anthony Gonzales, an officer of this expedition, received, at Rio del Oro, on the coast of Africa, in 1442, ten negro slaves and some gold dust in exchange for several Moorish captives, which he held in custody. On his return to Lisbon, the avarice of his countrymen was awakened by his success, and in a few years thirty ships were fitted out in pursuit of this gainful traffic. These incipient steps in the slave trade having been taken, it was continued by private adventurers until 1481, when the King of Portugal took the title of Lord of Guinea, and erected many forts on the African coast to protect himself in this iniquitous warfare upon human rights.

Soon after the settlement of the first colony in St. Domingo, in 1493, the licentiousness, rapacity and inscience of the Spaniards exasperated the native Indians, and a war breaking out between them, the latter were subdued and reduced to slavery. But as the avarice of the Spaniards was too rapacious and impatient to try any method of acquiring wealth but that of searching for gold, this servitude soon became as grievous as it was unjust. The Indians were driven in crowds to the mountains, and compelled to work in the mines by masters who imposed their tasks without mercy or discretion. Labor so disproportioned to their strength and former habits of life wasted that feeble race so rapidly, that in fifteen years their

numbers were reduced, by the original war and subsequent slavery, from a million to sixty thousand.

This enormous injustice awakened the sympathies of benevolent hearts, and great efforts were made by the Dominican missionaries to rescue the Indians from such cruel oppression. At length Las Casas espoused their cause; but his eloquence and all his efforts, both in the Island and in Spain, were unavailing. The impossibility, as it was supposed, of carrying on any improvements in America, and securing to the crown of Spain the expected annual revenue of gold, unless the Spaniards could command the labor of the natives, was an insuperable objection to his plan of treating them as free subjects.

To remove this obstacle, without which it was in vain to mention his scheme, Las Casas proposed to purchase a sufficient number of Negroes, from the Portuguese settlements on the coast of Africa, to be employed as substitutes for the Indians. Unfortunately for the children of Africa, this plan of Las Casas was adopted. As early as 1503, a few Negro slaves had been sent into St. Domingo, and in 1511, Ferdinand had permitted them to be imported in great numbers. The labor of one African was found to be equal to that of four Indians. But Cardinal Ximenes, acting as Regent from the death of Ferdinand to the accession of Charles, peremptorily refused to allow of their further introduction. Charles, however, on arriving in Spain, granted the prayer of Las Casas, and bestowed upon one of his Flemish friends the monopoly of supplying the colonies with slaves. This favorite sold his right to some Genoese merchants, 1518, and they brought the traffic in slaves, between Africa and America, into that regular form which has been continued to the present time.

Thus, through motives of benevolence toward the poor oppressed native Indians of St. Domingo, did the mistaken philanthropy of a good man, co-operating with the avarice of the Christian world, entail perpetual chains and inflict unutterable woes upon the sons of Africa.

This new market for slaves having been thus created, the nations of Europe were soon found treating with each other for the extension of the slave trade. "The Genoese," as already stated, "had, at first, the monopoly of this new branch of commerce. The French next obtained it, and kept it until it yielded them, according to Spanish official accounts, the sum of \$204,000,000. In 1713 the English secured it for thirty years." But Spain, in 1739, purchased the British right for the remaining four years, by the payment of \$500,000. The Dutch also participated to some extent in the traffic.

The North American Colonies did not long escape the introduction of this curse. As early as 1620, slaves were introduced by a Dutch vessel, which sailed up the James river, and sold her cargo. From that period a few slaves were introduced into North America from year to year, until the beginning of the 18th century, when Great Britain, having secured the monopoly of the slave trade, as before mentioned, prosecuted it with great activity, and made her own colonies the principal mart for the victims of her avarice. But her North American Colonies made a vigorous opposition to their introduction. The mother country, however, finding her commercial interests greatly advanced by this traffic, refused to listen to their remonstrances, or to sanction their legislative prohibitions.

But in addition to the commercial motive which controlled the actions of England, another, still more po-

tent, was disclosed in the declaration of the Earl of Dartmouth, in 1777, when he declared, as a reason for forcing the Africans upon the Colonies, that "Negroes cannot become Republicans:—they will be a power in our hands to restrain the unruly Colonists." The success which a kind providence granted to the arms of the Colonists, in their struggle for independence, however, soon enabled them to control this evil, and ultimately to expel it from our coasts.

In consequence of citizens of the Colonies being involved in the traffic, in the adoption of the Constitution the period for the termination of the slave trade was prolonged until January, 1808. But Congress, in anticipation, passed a law, on March 3d, 1807, prohibiting the fitting out of any vessels for the slave trade after that date, and forbidding the importation of any slaves after January, 1808, under the penalty of imprisonment from five to ten years, a fine of \$20,000, and the forfeiture of the vessels employed therein. This act also authorized the President of the United States to employ armed vessels to cruise on the coasts of Africa and the United States to prevent infractions of the law.

On the 3d of March, 1819, another act was passed, re-affirming the former act, and authorizing the President to make provision for the safe-keeping and support of all recaptured Africans, and for their return to Africa. This movement was prompted by the exertions of the Am. Colonization Society, which had been organized on the first of January, 1817, and embraced among its members many of the most influential men in the nation.

On the first of March, preceding the passage of this act, a gentleman from Virginia offered a resolution in the House of Representatives, which

was passed without a division, declaring that every person who should import any slave, or purchase one so imported, *should be punished with death*. This incident reveals to us, in a very unequivocal manner, the state of public sentiment at that time.

In the following year, 1820, Congress gave the crowning act to her legislation upon this subject, by the passage of the law declaring the slave trade *piracy*. This decisive measure, the first of the kind among nations, and which stamped the slave trade with deserved infamy, it should be remembered, was recommended by a committee of the House in a Report founded on a memorial of the Colonization Society. Thus terminated the *legislative measures* adopted by our Government for the suppression of the slave trade.

We shall now turn to Great Britain, the most extensive participator in this iniquitous traffic, and ascertain the success of the measures adopted for its suppression in that direction.

Through the efforts of Wilberforce and his co-adjutors, the British Parliament passed an act in 1806, which was to take effect in 1808, by which the slave trade was forever prohibited to her West India Colonies. But the want of wisdom and foresight involved in the measures adopted to accomplish this great work, soon became manifest. Had Great Britain prevailed upon or compelled Portugal and Spain to unite with her, the annihilation of the slave trade might have been effected. The traffic being abandoned by England, and left free to all others, was continued under the flags of Portugal and Spain, and their tropical colonies soon received such large accessions of slaves, as to enable them to begin to rival Great Britain in the supply of tropical products to the markets of the world.



But the philanthropic Wilberforce persevered in his efforts, and, after a struggle of thirty years, succeeded in procuring the passage of the Act of Parliament, in 1824, declaring the slave trade piracy. This was four years after the passage of the Act of our Congress which declared it piracy, and subjected those engaged therein to the penalty of death.

This decisive action of the two Governments was hailed with joy by the philanthropists of the world, and their efforts were now put forth to influence all the other Christian powers to unite in the suppression of this horrible traffic. Their exertions were ultimately crowned with success, and their joy was unbounded. England, France, the United States, and the other Christian powers, not only declared it piracy, but agreed to employ an armed force for its suppression. This engagement, however, was not carried out by all of the Governments who had assented to the proposition; yet, still, the hope was confidently entertained that the day for the destruction of the slave trade had come, and that this reproach of Christian nations would be blotted out for ever.

But, alas, how short-sighted is man, and how futile, often, his greatest efforts to do good. The vanity of human wisdom and the utter imbecility of human legislation, in the removal of moral evil, was never more signally shown than in this grand struggle for the suppression of the slave trade. Instead of having been checked and suppressed, and the demons in human form who carried it on having been deterred from continuing the traffic by the dread penalty of death, as was confidently anticipated, it has gone on increasing in extent and with an accumulation of horrors that surpass

belief. A glance at its history proves this but too fully, and shows that the warfare between good and evil is one of no ordinary magnitude.

Edwards, the historian of the West Indies, states, that the importation of slaves from Africa, in British vessels, from 1680 to 1786, averaged 20,000 annually. In 1792, Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt both agreed in estimating the numbers torn from Africa at 80,000 per annum. From 1798 to 1810, recent English Parliamentary documents show the numbers exported from Africa to have averaged 85,000 per annum, and the mortality during the voyage to have been 14 per cent. From 1810 to 1815 the same documents present an average of 93,000 per annum, and the loss during the middle passage to have equalled that of the preceding period. From 1815 to 1819 the export of slaves had increased to 106,000 annually, and the mortality during the voyage to 25 per cent.

Here, then, is brought to view the extent of the evil which called for such energetic action, and which, it was hoped, could be easily crushed by legislation. Let us now look forward to the results.

While the slave trade was sanctioned by law, its extent could be as easily ascertained as that of any other branch of commerce; but after that period, the estimates of its extent are only approximations.

The late Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON devoted himself with unwearied industry to the investigation of the extent and enormities of the foreign slave trade. His labors extended through many years, and the results, as published in 1840, sent a thrill of horror throughout the Christian world. He proved, conclusively, that the victims to the slave trade, *in Africa*, amounted annually to 500,000. This included the numbers

who perish in the seizure of the victims, in the wars of the natives upon each other, and the deaths during their march to the coast and the detention there before embarkation. This loss he estimates at one half, or 500 out of every 1000. The destruction of life during the middle passage he estimates at 25 per cent., or 125 out of the remaining 500 of the original thousand. The mortality after landing and in seasoning he shows is 20 per cent. or one-fifth of the 375 survivors. Thus he proves that the number of lives sacrificed by the system, bears to the number of slaves available to the planter, the proportion of *seven to three*—that is to say, for every 300 slaves landed and sold in the market, 700 have fallen victims to the deprivations and cruelties connected with the traffic.

The parliamentary documents above referred to vary but little from the estimates of Mr. Buxton, excepting that they do not compute the number of victims destroyed in Africa in their seizure and transportation to the coast. The following table, extracted from these documents, presents the average number of slaves exported from Africa to America, and sold chiefly in Brazil and Cuba, with the per cent. amount of loss in the periods designated.

| Dates.       | Annual average number exported. | Average casualties during the voyage. | Per Cent. | Amount. |
|--------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|---------|
| 1798 to 1805 | 85,000                          | 14                                    |           | 12,000  |
| 1805 to 1810 | 85,000                          | 14                                    |           | 12,000  |
| 1810 to 1815 | 93,000                          | 14                                    |           | 13,000  |
| 1815 to 1817 | 106,000                         | 25                                    |           | 26,600  |
| 1817 to 1819 | 106,000                         | 25                                    |           | 26,600  |
| 1819 to 1825 | 103,000                         | 25                                    |           | 25,800  |
| 1825 to 1830 | 125,000                         | 25                                    |           | 31,000  |
| 1830 to 1835 | 78,500                          | 25                                    |           | 19,600  |
| 1835 to 1840 | 135,800                         | 25                                    |           | 33,900  |

This enormous increase of the slave trade, it must be remembered, had taken place during the period of vigorous efforts for its suppression.

England, alone, according to McQueen, had expended for this object, up to 1842, in the employment of a naval force on the coast of Africa, the sum of \$88,888,888, and he estimated the annual expenditure at that time at \$2,500,000. But it has been increased since that period to \$3,000,000 a year, making the total expenditure of Great Britain, for the suppression of the slave trade, at the close of 1848, more than *one hundred millions of dollars!* France and the United States have also expended a large amount for this object.

The disclosures of Mr. Buxton produced a profound sensation throughout England, and the conviction was forced upon the public mind, and “upon Her Majesty’s confidential advisers,” *that the slave trade could not be suppressed by physical force*, and that it was “indispensable to enter upon some new preventive system calculated to arrest the foreign slave trade.”

The remedy proposed and attempted to be carried out, was “*the deliverance of Africa by calling forth her own resources.*”

To accomplish this great work, the capitalists of England were to set on foot agricultural companies, who, under the protection of the Government, should obtain lands by treaty with the natives, and employ them in its tillage,—to send out trading ships and open factories at the most commanding positions,—to increase and concentrate the English naval force on the coast, and to make treaties with the chiefs of the coast, the rivers and the interior. These measures adopted, the companies formed were to call to their aid a race of teachers of African blood, from Sierra Leone and the West Indies, who should labor with the whites in diffusing intelligence, in imparting religious instruction, in teaching agriculture, in establishing



and encouraging legitimate commerce, and in impeding and suppressing the slave trade. In conformity with these views and aims, the *African Civilization Society* was formed, and the Government fitted out three large iron steamers, at an expense of \$300,000, for the use of the company.

Mr. McQueen, who had for more than twenty years devoted himself to the consideration of Africa's redemption and Britain's glory, and who had become the most perfect master of African geography and African resources, also appealed to the Government, and urged the adoption of measures for making *all Africa a dependency of the British Empire*. Speaking of what England had already accomplished, and of what she could yet achieve, he exclaims:

"Unfold the map of the world: We command the Ganges. Fortified at Bombay, the Indus is our own. Possessed of the islands in the mouth of the Persian Gulf, we command the outlets of Persia and the mouths of the Euphrates, and consequently of countries the cradle of the human race. We command at the Cape of Good Hope. Gibraltar and Malta belonging to us, we control the Mediterranean. Let us plant the British standard on the island of Socotora—upon the island of Fernando Po, and inland upon the banks of the Niger; and then we may say Asia and Africa, for all their productions and all their wants, are under our control. It is in our power. Nothing can prevent us."

But Providence rebuked this proud boast. The African Civilization Society commenced its labors under circumstances the most favorable for success. Its list of members embraced many of the noblest names

of the kingdom. Men of science and intelligence embarked in it, and, when the expedition set sail, a shout of joy arose and a prayer for success ascended from ten thousand philanthropic English voices.

But this magnificent scheme, fraught with untold blessings to Africa, and destined, it was believed, not only to regenerate her speedily, but to produce a revenue of unnumbered millions of dollars to the stockholders, proved an utter failure. The African climate, that deadly foe to the white man, blighted the enterprise. In a few months, disease and death had so far reduced the numbers of the men connected with the expedition, that the enterprise was abandoned, and the only evidence of its ever having ascended the Niger exists in its model farm left in the care of a Liberian.

This result, however, had been anticipated by many of the judicious Englishmen who had not suffered their enthusiasm to overcome their judgments, but who had opposed it as wild and visionary in the extreme, on account of the known fatality of the climate to white men.

Thus did the last direct effort of England for the redemption of Africa prove abortive. The slave trade has still been prosecuted with little abatement, and for the last few years with an alarming increase. The statistics in the parliamentary Report, before quoted, and from which we have extracted the table exhibiting the extent of the slave trade between Africa and America, down to 1839, also present the following table, including the numbers exported from Africa to America, from 1840 to 1847 inclusive, with the per cent. of loss in the middle passage and the amount.\* It is as follows:

\*There is some discrepancy in the authorities from which we quote the figures. We have not had access to the original document. One of our authorities gives the whole number of these exports from Africa to Brazil, and a proportional number to Cuba. This would greatly increase all our estimates based upon the figures of this table.

| Years. | Numbers. | Loss.     |         |
|--------|----------|-----------|---------|
|        |          | Per Cent. | Amount. |
| 1840   | 64,114   | 25        | 16,068  |
| 1841   | 43,097   | 25        | 11,274  |
| 1842   | 28,400   | 25        | 7,100   |
| 1843   | 55,062   | 25        | 13,765  |
| 1844   | 54,102   | 25        | 13,525  |
| 1845   | 36,758   | 25        | 9,189   |
| 1846   | 76,117   | 25        | 19,029  |
| 1847   | 84,356   | 25        | 21,089  |

Here, then, we have the melancholy truth forced upon us, that the slave trade was carried on as actively in 1847 as from 1798 to 1810; while the destruction of life during the middle passage has been increased from 14 per cent. to 25; and that while the vigorous means used to suppress the traffic, during these fifty years, have failed of this end, they have greatly aggravated its horrors.

And such was the conviction of the total inadequacy of the means which had been employed by the British Government to check or suppress the evil, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, at the close of the year 1847, after declaring that the slave trade was then more actively and systematically prosecuted than for many years, and that its horrors had been greatly increased, urged upon the Government, from motives of humanity, the suspension of all physical force, and the repeal of all laws inflicting penalties upon those engaged in the traffic. It was proved that the slave traders, when closely pursued by vessels of war, often hid the evidences of their guilt, when favored by the darkness of the night, by burying the slaves with which they were freighted in the depths of the ocean; or by persevering in refusing to surrender, force the pursuing vessels to continue firing into them, and thus endanger and destroy the innocent victims crowded between the decks of their vessels. It was also urged that the African

Civilization Society be revived, but that, instead of *white men*, the emigrants be taken from the better educated and more enlightened of the West India colored population. By the adoption of this course, and the civilization of the Africans along the coast, they hope to seal the fountain whence the evil flows.

This brief outline of the slave trade, and of the efforts made by Great Britain for its suppression, and the utter failure of the measures which she had adopted to accomplish that object, prove, conclusively, two points which American philanthropists had for years urged as settled truths, viz:

1. *That the planting and building up of Christian Colonies on the coast of Africa, is the only practical remedy for the slave trade.*

2. *That colored men only can, with safety, settle upon the African Coast.*

And so fully has the British Government now become convinced of the truth of these propositions, that Lord Palmerston not only has placed a naval force at the disposal of the President of Liberia for the suppression of the slave trade on territory recently purchased, where the slave traders refused to leave, but has, in connection with others, offered ample pecuniary means to purchase the whole territory between Sierra Leone and Liberia, now infested by those traffickers in human flesh, with the view of annexing it to the little Republic, and thus rescuing it from their hands.

By this act, Englishmen have acknowledged the superiority of our scheme of African redemption over that of the philanthropists of Britain, and have thus given assurances to the world that their plan of *making Africa a dependency of the British Crown* has been abandoned, and that a change of policy towards our colony has been adopted. All their own schemes in relation to Africa

having failed, they are constrained to acknowledge the wisdom and success of ours, and are the first to avail themselves of the commercial advantages afforded to the world by the creation of the Republic of Liberia.

But we shall, under another head, revert again to this subject, and present some facts which may serve to explain the course of England in her sudden expression of friendship and sympathy for our colony.

II. The efforts made, at an early day, for the emancipation of the slaves in the United States, with the results.

On this important question there was not the same unanimity of sentiment which had prevailed upon that of the slave trade. The love of ease, the prospect of gain, the fear that so large a body of ignorant men would be dangerous to the public peace, and many other considerations, influenced the minds of a large number to oppose the liberation of the slaves. But, notwithstanding this opposition, the work progress-

ed, until Acts of Emancipation were carried through the Legislatures of all the States north of Delaware, Maryland and Virginia. Nor was this good work confined to the States which were engaged in legislative enactments for emancipation. The feelings of humanity which dictated the liberation of the slave in the northern States, pervaded the minds of good men in the southern States also.

The full extent of the emancipations in the slave States cannot be accurately ascertained. The census tables, however, supply sufficient testimony on this point to enable us to reach a close approximation to the true number which have been liberated since 1790, when the first census of the United States was taken.

The following table gives the number of free colored people in 1790, with the number in all the subsequent periods up to 1840, and the increase in each ten years, together with the increase per cent. per ann.

## I.

*Table showing the number of the Free colored population of the United States.*

| YEARS.                          | 1790   | 1800    | 1810    | 1820    | 1830    | 1840    |
|---------------------------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Total number                    | 59,466 | 108,398 | 186,446 | 238,197 | 319,599 | 386,235 |
| Actual increase                 |        | 48,931  | 78,048  | 51,751  | 81,402  | 66,636  |
| Increase per cent.<br>per annum |        | 8.22+   | 7.20+   | 2.77+   | 3.41+   | 2.08+   |

In 1790 the feeling in favor of emancipation, it will be seen, had given us a free colored population of nearly 60,000 persons. What proportion of these were *free-born* cannot be determined, but it would probably not exceed one-half.

The number of slaves in the free States, in 1790, and the *decrease* in each period, up to 1840, with the *annual decrease per cent.* was as follows:

## II.

*Table exhibiting the number of Slaves in the Free States from 1790 to 1840.*

| YEARS.                          | 1790   | 1800   | 1810   | 1820   | 1830    | 1840   |
|---------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|--------|
| Total number                    | 40,212 | 35,803 | 27,181 | 18,001 | 2,774   | 764    |
| Actual decrease                 |        | 4,409  | 8,622  | 9,180  | *15,227 | 2,010  |
| Decrease per cent.<br>per annum |        | 1.23+  | 3.17+  | 5.04+  | 18.88+  | 26.30+ |

\* By a law of New York 10,000 slaves were emancipated in one day in 1827, thus decreasing the number of slaves, and increasing the free colored, as stated in this table.



The decrease of the slaves in the free States, after 1790, is not greater than the deaths in a population of such a class of persons. Pennsylvania passed her emancipation act in 1780, and the other states soon afterward followed her example, but at what periods we are not at present informed.\* It is probable that the free colored population was not increased by emancipations of the slaves remaining in the free states after 1790, because, as before stated, the decrease of these slaves did not exceed the mortality, excepting in 1827, when New York liberated all hers then remaining in bondage.

Any increase of the free colored population, therefore, over their natural increase will have been produced by emancipations in the slave states.

The following table, taken in connection with table I, shows, that from 1830 to 1840 the increase of the free colored population was reduced to but a very small fraction over *two per cent.* per annum. Two per cent. per annum, therefore, may be taken as the ratio of the natural increase of the free colored population. The excess over two per cent. must then, have been derived from emancipations.

### III.

*Rate per cent. per annum of increase of Population of the United States.*

| Years.       | Whites. | Free colored. | Slaves. | Free colored and Slaves. | All combined. |
|--------------|---------|---------------|---------|--------------------------|---------------|
| 1790 to 1800 | 3.56    | 8.22          | 2.79    | 3.22                     | 3.50          |
| 1800 to 1810 | 3.61    | 7.20          | 3.34    | 3.75                     | 3.64          |
| 1810 to 1820 | 3.43    | 2.77          | 2.95    | 2.93                     | 3.33          |
| 1820 to 1830 | 3.38    | 3.41          | 3.01    | 3.06                     | 3.32          |
| 1830 to 1840 | 3.46    | 2.08          | 2.32    | 2.33                     | 3.26          |
| Average      | 3.48    | 4.73          | 2.88    | 3.06                     | 3.41          |

Adopting this rule of computation, we find that the emancipations in the slave states, from 1790 to 1830, must have been 131,700. If to this we add one-half of the number who were free in 1790, or 30,000, it makes the total emancipations up to 1830 amount to 161,700. The extent of the *pecuniary sacrifice made to the cause of emancipation* by benevolent men involved in slavery, will be better understood by estimating the number emancipated at \$350 each, which gives a product of \$56,595,000. This estimated value is low enough.

To this sum, however, should be added the number of slaves emancipated and sent to Liberia, which, up to 1843, amounted to 2,290. If to these are added the emancipated slaves sent out to Africa since that period, the number of which we cannot at present ascertain, we shall have more than another million of dollars to add to the above sum, thus making the amount sacrificed to the cause of emancipation but little short of *fifty-eight millions of dollars.*

But in granting the slave his freedom, it seemed to be decided by common consent, that the British

\* We find the following statement in relation to the number of slaves in the United States at an earlier period, in a religious periodical. At the time of the Declaration of Independence, in 1776, the whole number of slaves was estimated at 500,000, viz:

|                |        |               |        |              |         |
|----------------|--------|---------------|--------|--------------|---------|
| Massachusetts, | 3,500  | New Jersey,   | 7,600  | N. Carolina, | 75,000  |
| Rhode Island,  | 4,373  | Pennsylvania, | 10,000 | S. Carolina, | 110,000 |
| Connecticut,   | 6,000  | Delaware,     | 9,000  | Georgia,     | 16,000  |
| New Hampshire, | 629    | Maryland,     | 80,000 |              |         |
| New York,      | 15,000 | Virginia,     | 16,500 | Total,       | 502,133 |

statesman was right in asserting that *Negroes could not become Republicans*. The right of suffrage was not extended to them. The stimulus of entering into competition for the highest posts of honor was not afforded to the man of color to prompt him to great mental effort. Able to find employment only in the more menial occupations, his opportunities for intellectual advancement were poor, and his prospects of moral improvement still more gloomy.

These results of emancipation in the northern states were watched with great interest by the philanthropic citizens of the slave states. The liberation of the slaves in the free states had fallen so far short of securing the amount of good anticipated, that the friends of the colored man became less urgent and zealous in their efforts to secure further legislative action, while the opponent of the measure was furnished with a new argument to sustain him in his course of hostility to emancipation, and was soon able to secure the passage of laws for its prohibition, under the specious plea that a large increase of the free colored population by emancipation could not be productive of good either to themselves or to the whites.

That some powerful cause operated in checking emancipations after 1810, and that it again received a new impulse from 1820 to 1830, is undeniable. The number emancipated in the slave states, during the several periods, as is determined by the rule before adopted, was as follows:

|              |                    |         |
|--------------|--------------------|---------|
| 1790 to 1800 | emancipations were | 37,042  |
| 1800 to 1810 | "                  | 56,414  |
| 1810 to 1820 | "                  | 14,471  |
| 1820 to 1830 | "                  | 33,772* |
| 1830 to 1840 | "                  | 000     |

From 1790 to 1810 some of the most powerful minds in the nation were directed to the consideration

of the enormous evils of slavery, and the effects of their labors are exhibited in the number of emancipations made during that period. The decline of emancipations after 1810, we believe to be due to the cause assigned above—the little benefit, apparently, which had resulted from the liberation of the slaves, and the consequent relaxation of effort by the friends of emancipation.

The impulse given to emancipation between 1820 and 1830, it is believed, was caused by the favorable influences exerted by the Colonization Society, which enjoyed a great degree of popularity during this period. But from 1830 to 1840, the period when the Society had the fewest friends, the increase of the free colored population was reduced to only two per cent. per annum, showing that emancipations must have nearly ceased, or that the deaths among our free colored people are so nearly equal to the births, that some decisive measures are demanded, by considerations of humanity, to place them under circumstances more favorable than they at present enjoy.

It may be well in this place to call attention to the fact, that while the natural increase of our free colored population *cannot exceed two per cent.* per annum, that of the slaves, notwithstanding the numerous emancipations, has been *three per cent.* per annum, excepting in the first period, when the disparity in the sexes produced by the slave trade might produce a greater mortality than would afterward occur; and in the last period, between 1830 and 1840, during which the great revulsions in business, producing an immense number of bankruptcies in the south, caused thousands of embarrassed debtors to remove their slaves to Texas, beyond the

\*The 10,000 emancipated in New York being deducted, will leave 23,772 in this period,

reach of their creditors. The slaves thus removed, not being included in the census of 1840, caused a reduction in the ratio of our slave increase. See table III.

Thus we find, that in the earlier periods of our history, the promptings of philanthropy and the influence of Christian principle produced a public sentiment which controlled legislation, and broke the chain of the slave. And where legislation failed, it operated with equal power on the hearts of men, and produced the same salutary effects. But while emancipation was found to have produced to the white man the richest fruits, it was observed, with painful feelings, that to the colored man it had been productive of little else than the "Apples of Sodom."

These results of emancipation led to anxious inquiries in relation to the disposal of the free colored population. It was all-important, in the judgment of the friends of the colored man, that he should be placed under circumstances where the degradation of centuries might be forgotten, and where he might become an honor to his race and a benefactor to the world. The conviction forced itself upon their minds, *that a separate political organization—a Government of his own, where he would be free in fact as well as in name*—was the only means by which they could fully discharge the debt due him, and place him in a position where his prospects of advancement would be based upon a sure foundation.

These remarks bring us to the consideration of the third branch of our subject.

III. The provision to be made for the people of color when liberated.

A separate political organization was decided upon, and Colonization, at a distant point, beyond the

influence of the whites, considered the only means of future security to the colored man. To select the field for the founding of the future African Empire was not such an easy task. The history of the Indian tribes had proved, but too forcibly, that an establishment upon the territory of the United States would soon become unsafe, in consequence of the rapid and universal extension of the white population. The unsettled state of the South American Republics was considered as offering still less security. Europe had no room for them, nor desire to possess them. England had already removed those cast upon herself and her Canadian possessions, by the casualties of war, back again to Africa, and founded her Colony of Sierra Leone. The only remaining point was Africa. Its western coast was of most easy access, being but little further from us than Havre or Liverpool. The condition of its native population offered many obstacles to the establishment of a colony. But the inducements to select it as the field of the enterprise in contemplation were also many. It was the land of the fathers of those who were to emigrate. It was deeply sunk in both moral and intellectual darkness. The lowest rites of Pagan worship were widely practised. Human sacrifices extensively prevailed, and even cannibalism often added its horrors to fill up the picture of its dismal degradation. And, as though the Spirit of Evil had resolved on concentrating in one point all the enormities that could be invented by the fiends of the nether pit, the slave trade was added to the catalogue, to stimulate the worst passions of the human heart, and produce developments of wickedness and of cruelty, at the bare recital of which humanity shudders. Except at a few points,



no ray of moral light, to guide to a blissful eternity, had yet penetrated the more than midnight moral darkness which had for ages shrouded the land. The deadly influence of the climate, together with the interference of the slave trade, had hitherto defeated the success of missionary effort, and there seemed to be no hope for the moral renovation of Africa but through the agency of men of African blood, whose constitutions could become adapted to the climate, and who could thus gain a foothold upon the continent, repel the slave traders, and introduce civilization and the gospel.

Here, then, was a field for the action of the freed-men of the United States. Here was a theatre upon which to exhibit before the world the capacities of the colored race. Here, too, could be solved the problem of the value of the republican form of government. And, above all, here could be fully tested the regenerating, the elevating, and the humanizing power of the gospel of Christ.

In commencing the settlement of a colony of colored persons on the coast of Africa, two objects were to be accomplished:

1. To improve the condition of the free colored people of the United States.

2. To civilize and christianize Africa.

To these objects the friends of the colored man devoted themselves. The first emigrants were sent out in 1820. The pecuniary means of the society were never very great, and its progress in sending out emigrants and in building up the colony has necessarily been slow. From the first it met with violent opposition from the slave traders on the coast of Africa, who, by creating the impression upon the minds of the natives that the colonists would

prevent their further connection with the slave trade, and thus cut off their chief source of acquiring wealth, inflamed the minds of the chiefs, and prompted them to make war upon the colonists. Soon after the settlement of the colony, the native warriors, one thousand strong, attacked the emigrants, who numbered but thirty-five effective men. But a kind Providence shielded them from the infuriated savages who assailed them, and enabled that handful of men to defeat their foes, in two successive assaults, separated from each other by several weeks of time, and, finally, to establish themselves in peace in all their borders.

Additional emigrants, from year to year, were sent out. Missionaries labored, with more or less faithfulness, in establishing schools and in preaching the gospel. The natives, in a few years, became convinced that the colonists were their true friends, and that the adoption of civilized habits would secure to them greater comforts than could be obtained by a continuation of the slave trade. Their children were sent to school with those of the colonists. A moral renovation commenced and progressed until, in the course of twenty-six years from the landing of the first emigrants at Monrovia, the colony attained a condition of strength warranting its erection into an Independent Republic. Accordingly, in July, 1847, its independence was declared, and a population of 80,000 adopted the constitution and laws and became members of the Republic. Its newly elected President, J. J. ROBERTS, a man of color, in his recent visit to England, France and Germany, was treated with great respect, and found no difficulty in securing the acknowledgment of the independence of the Republic of Liberia by the two former governments.

But it may be said, that, after all, but little has been done, compared with the means expended, in this effort to make provision for the free colored people, and for the introduction of a Christian civilization into Africa. A more striking view of the results will be brought out by contrasting the products of the labors of the American Colonization Society with some of the other efforts which have been made to rescue Africa from the wrongs inflicted upon her.

England, mighty in power, and possessing the means of executing magnificent enterprises, has expended, as already stated, more than one hundred millions of dollars for the suppression of the slave trade and the civilization of Africa. But her labors and her treasures have been spent in vain. Her gold might better have been sunk in the ocean. The monster, hydra-like, when smitten and one head severed from the body, has constantly reproduced two in its place; and, at this moment, as before shown, it is prosecuted with greater activity than for many years.

It must be remembered that these efforts of Great Britain have been made during the period of the existence of the American Colonization Society, and in seeming contempt of its pigmy efforts. For years previous to the independence of Liberia, and while England was aiming at making Africa a dependency of her Crown, she, on several occasions, manifested a disposition to cripple the energies of our colony. And so extensive were the agencies she seems to have employed, that it is now matter of wonder that she had not succeeded in wholly crushing the colonization enterprise, and securing to herself the control of that richest of all the tropical portions of the world. But all her efforts at

checking the progress of this heaven-born enterprise have been as fruitless as those adopted by her in reference to the slave trade, or for civilizing Africa. The fact stands acknowledged before the world, that Great Britain, after the expenditure of more than one hundred millions of dollars, has failed in suppressing the slave trade on one mile of coast beyond the limits of her colonies, while our colonization efforts have swept it from nearly *four hundred miles* of coast, where it formerly existed in its chief strength.

But why is it that there is such a marked difference in the results? Why is it that the Colonization Society, with a yearly income sometimes of only \$10,000 and rarely ever reaching \$50,000, should have, in twenty-six years, annihilated the slave trade on 400 miles of coast, and secured the blessings of freedom to 80,000 men, formerly slaves, and have succeeded in binding, by treaties, 200,000 more, never again to engage in the traffic in their brethren,—while Great Britain, with all her wealth and power, has accomplished nothing?

We will not undertake to answer these questions. It cannot always be discerned by men why the Ruler of the Universe often defeats the best devised human schemes, which to them may seem certain of success, and prospers those which, to human foresight, were the least promising. We need only remind you that Great Britain has relied, almost exclusively, upon the employment of *physical force* to accomplish her purposes, while the Colonization Society has depended, as exclusively, upon *moral means*. The agencies it has employed have been the humble mechanic, the husbandman, the schoolmaster, the missionary and the Bible. And, though often thwarted in its purposes by those who felt interested in its



overthrow, yet, relying upon moral means, and never resorting to force but in self-defence, it has signally triumphed and put to shame the wisdom of men and the power of kingdoms. Its operations have proved that the schoolmaster, the missionary and the Bible possess a moral power infinitely more potent than coronets and crowns.

These results go very far toward proving the truth of the proposition, announced in the outset,—that the Gospel of Christ is the medium through which God operates in bringing mankind into subjection to his will, and that a reliance upon any other means for the moral redemption of the nations of the world, must prove an utter failure.

In view of all these results, we are fully warranted in maintaining that the Colonization Society, in its measures for benefitting the colored people, has done an incalculable amount of good, and demands our confidence and our support, and that it is justly entitled to the paternity of three measures which have been productive of the greatest good to Africa:

1. The procuring of the first legal enactments declaring the slave trade piracy.

2. The total extinction of that cruel traffic from near 400 miles of the coast of Africa.

3. The establishment of an Independent Christian Republic on that continent.

There is another feature of this question, of the disposal of the free colored population of the United States, which demands attention, and is of the utmost importance in selecting for them a home. *The northern latitudes of the United States do not furnish a suitable home for men of African descent.* The evidence of this fact is furnished by their own movements when left free to act. The census tables supply the testimony upon this subject.

By referring to table III, it will be seen that the ratio of the natural increase of the free colored population is *two per cent. per annum.* The knowledge of this fact furnishes the key to determine the increase or decrease, by emigration, in any state or group of states.

#### IV.

*Free colored population in Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Vermont.*

| YEARS.                       | 1790   | 1800   | 1810   | 1820   | 1830   | 1840   |
|------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| Total number                 | 13,126 | 17,317 | 19,488 | 21,248 | 21,331 | 22,634 |
| Actual increase              |        | 4,191  | 2,171  | 1,760  | 83     | 1,304  |
| Increase per cent. per annum |        | 3.19   | 1.25   | 0.90   | 0.03   | 0.61   |
| Slaves in do.                | 3,886  | 1,340  | 418    | 145    | 48     | 23     |

In the prosecution of the investigation of the question before us, *the effect of climate upon the African constitution*, we find that previous to 1790, the desire of the manumitted slave to escape from the scenes of his oppressions had given to the six New England states a free colored population of 13,126. From 1790

to 1800 the census tables show that the line of emigration was still northward, and augmented their ratio of increase more than one-third over the natural rate. But during the next forty years, ending with 1840, their ratio of increase, as shown in table IV, was rapidly diminished, and fell so far below the ratio of

their natural increase, that from 1820 to 1830, with a free colored population of 21,248, they had an increase in these ten years of only *eighty-three* persons. The aggregate for the whole period stands thus: In 1810 they had a free colored population of 19,488, and in 1840 but 22,634, being an increase of only 3,146; while their natural increase, if retained, would have augmented their numbers to 33,648. This diminution must have been caused by emigration back again toward the south, because we find that New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, had a corresponding increase during this period, with the exception of the last ten years, when they also lost a portion of their natural increase.

But this tendency of colored men to avoid northern latitudes is quite as fully proved by a comparison of the northern parts of New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio, with their southern portions, as it is exhibited in the case of the New England States, when compared with those further south. Take, for example, a few of the counties in the northeast of Ohio. In 1840, Geauga had only 3 persons of color, Ashtabula 17, Lake 21, Portage 39, Summit 42, Medina 13, Lorain 62, Trumbull 70, and Cuyahoga, including the city of Cleveland, 121, in all 388. Now look at a few of the counties bordering the slave states and in the more southern part of the state. Belmont, in 1840, had 724, Gallia, 799, High-

land 786, Brown 614, Ross 1195, Franklin 805, and Hamilton 2546.

This contrast, which might be extended much further, reveals the fact, that any *one* of the last named counties, in the southern portion of the state, had nearly double, and several of them *more than double the number* of colored persons that the whole *eight* northern counties above named included.

But to give a more forcible illustration of the truth of our proposition, allow me to extend this contrast between the northern and southern counties of Ohio, so as to include the whole free colored population of the state. By drawing a line east and west across the state, so as to divide its territory into about equal parts, giving an excess of counties, as now divided, to the north, the result is, that in 1840, the 38 northern counties, now divided into 42, included only 2,360 persons of color, while the 40 counties of the southern half embraced a colored population of 15,000. And if we deduct Stark, Columbiana and Harrison on the east, and Mercer on the west, from the northern counties, they will have left, in the 36 remaining counties, a free colored population of only 1372, or a little more than half the number in Hamilton county. I append the list of all the counties, that it may be accessible to those who may wish to prosecute this investigation.\*

After making all due allowance

\* The following statement gives the colored population of Ohio in the several counties, commencing at the northern and southern extremities, as presented in the census of 1840:

|                    |      |                      |      |                      |     |
|--------------------|------|----------------------|------|----------------------|-----|
| Hamilton . . . . . | 2576 | Pike . . . . .       | 329  | Monroe . . . . .     | 13  |
| Clermont . . . . . | 122  | Highland . . . . .   | 786  | Morgan . . . . .     | 68  |
| Brown . . . . .    | 614  | Butler . . . . .     | 254  | Perry . . . . .      | 47  |
| Adams . . . . .    | 63   | Warren . . . . .     | 341  | Fairfield . . . . .  | 342 |
| Scioto . . . . .   | 206  | Clinton . . . . .    | 377  | Pickaway . . . . .   | 333 |
| Lawrence . . . . . | 148  | Ross . . . . .       | 1195 | Fayette . . . . .    | 239 |
| Gallia . . . . .   | 799  | Hocking . . . . .    | 46   | Greene . . . . .     | 344 |
| Meigs . . . . .    | 28   | Athens . . . . .     | 55   | Clark . . . . .      | 200 |
| Jackson . . . . .  | 315  | Washington . . . . . | 269  | Montgomery . . . . . | 376 |

for the alleged defect of energy in the colored man, as accounting for his not seeking a residence in the north; and what has still more influence on his mind—the greater indulgence which he finds from the planter of the south, now settled in our more southern counties, than he does from the northern man who is a stranger to his habits,—there is, we affirm, ample testimony to prove, that the northern latitudes of the United States do not furnish a suitable climate for men of African blood, and that they are congregating as far south as circumstances will permit. This fact, we insist, proves conclusively the necessity of securing a tropical home for colored men.

But in addition to all the foregoing details, which prove the inadaptation of northern latitudes to the African, we have, very recently, the fact revealed to us in a late census of Upper Canada, that in that province, where we had been a thousand times assured that from 20,000 to 25,000 runaway slaves from the United States had found refuge, there were, in 1847, barely 5,571 colored persons in the colony. In this statement however, which in-

cludes the whole twenty districts, there may be an error in one of them which may vary this result.

But I cannot dismiss this part of our subject without a few remarks. The citizens of our northern counties often charge us, of the southern, with being destitute of the ordinary feelings of humanity and benevolence, because we are disposed to discourage the further immigration of colored men into the State, and because we advocate a separation of the races by colonization. And this they do with an apparent seriousness that warrants us in concluding that they believe what they say. Perhaps if we had only *three* to a county, like old Geauga, we, too, might be disposed to catch them for *pets*, to amuse our children, as we do mocking birds and paroquets. But with us the novelty of seeing a colored man has long since passed away, and we no longer make pets of them, *on account of color*, but treat them precisely as we do other men. The upright and industrious we respect and encourage. The immoral and degraded we wish anywhere else than in our households or as near neighbors.

|                     |     |                    |     |                      |     |
|---------------------|-----|--------------------|-----|----------------------|-----|
| Preble . . . . .    | 88  | Summit . . . . .   | 42  | Marion . . . . .     | 52  |
| Darke . . . . .     | 200 | Medina . . . . .   | 13  | Crawford . . . . .   | 5   |
| Miami . . . . .     | 211 | Lorain . . . . .   | 62  | Richland . . . . .   | 65  |
| Shelby . . . . .    | 262 | Erie . . . . .     | 97  | Wayne . . . . .      | 41  |
| Logan . . . . .     | 407 | Huron . . . . .    | 106 | Holmes . . . . .     | 3   |
| Champaign . . . . . | 328 | Sandusky . . . . . | 41  | Stark . . . . .      | 204 |
| Madison . . . . .   | 97  | Ottawa . . . . .   | 5   | Carroll . . . . .    | 49  |
| Franklin . . . . .  | 805 | Seneca . . . . .   | 65  | Columbiana . . . . . | 417 |
| Licking . . . . .   | 140 | Wood . . . . .     | 32  | Harrison . . . . .   | 163 |
| Muskingum . . . . . | 562 | Lucas . . . . .    | 54  | Tuscarawas . . . . . | 71  |
| Guernsey . . . . .  | 190 | Henry . . . . .    | 6   | Coshocton . . . . .  | 38  |
| Belmont . . . . .   | 742 | Williams . . . . . | 2   | Knox . . . . .       | 63  |
| Jefferson . . . . . | 497 | Paulding . . . . . | 0   | Delaware . . . . .   | 76  |
| Ashtabula . . . . . | 17  | Van Wert . . . . . | 0   | Union . . . . .      | 78  |
| Lake . . . . .      | 21  | Mercer . . . . .   | 204 | Morrow . . . . .     |     |
| Gauga . . . . .     | 3   | Allen . . . . .    | 23  | Mahoning . . . . .   |     |
| Cuyahoga . . . . .  | 121 | Hancock . . . . .  | 8   | Auglaize . . . . .   |     |
| Trumbull . . . . .  | 70  | Hardin . . . . .   | 4   | Defiance . . . . .   |     |
| Portage . . . . .   | 39  |                    |     |                      |     |

## V.

*Free colored population in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.*

| YEARS.                       | 1790   | 1800   | 1810   | 1820   | 1830    | 1840    |
|------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|---------|---------|
| Total number                 | 13,953 | 29,340 | 55,668 | 74,742 | 101,103 | 118,925 |
| Actual increase              |        | 15,387 | 26,328 | 19,074 | 26,361  | 17,822  |
| Increase per cent. per annum |        | 11.02  | 8.97   | 3.42   | 3.54    | 1.76    |
| Slaves in do.                | 36,484 | 34,471 | 26,663 | 17,856 | 2,732   | 742     |

But in addition to *climate*, the colored man has another formidable adversary to contend with. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, as before stated, and as the figures in table V show us, had accessions to their colored population much beyond the natural increase on their original numbers up till 1830. But from 1830 to 1840 these states also commenced repelling

their free colored population, and their ratio of increase was reduced considerably below *two* per cent. per annum—Pennsylvania, however, still having a ratio of  $2\frac{6}{100}$ , showing that she had not been as much affected as the other two states, though between 1820 and 1830 her ratio had been reduced to  $1\frac{2}{100}$  per cent. per annum.

## VI.

*Free colored population of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia.*

| YEARS.                       | 1790    | 1800    | 1810    | 1820    | 1830    | 1840    |
|------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Total number                 | 24,718  | 47,979  | 77,633  | 89,817  | 116,141 | 128,781 |
| Actual increase              |         | 23,261  | 29,654  | 12,184  | 26,324  | 12,640  |
| Increase per cent. per annum |         | 9.41    | 6.13    | 1.55    | 2.93    | 1.08    |
| Slaves                       | 405,350 | 457,584 | 508,197 | 537,060 | 576,043 | 530,087 |

## VII.

*Free colored population of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.*

| YEARS.                       | 1790    | 1800    | 1810    | 1820    | 1830    | 1840    |
|------------------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Total number                 | 7,174   | 11,247  | 16,621  | 23,205  | 29,950  | 33,761  |
| Actual increase              |         | 4,073   | 5,374   | 6,584   | 6,745   | 3,811   |
| Increase per cent. per annum |         | 5.67    | 4.77    | 3.96    | 2.90    | 1.27    |
| Slaves                       | 236,930 | 338,851 | 470,407 | 613,148 | 778,533 | 853,799 |

Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, also repulsed nearly one half of their natural increase be-

tween 1830 and 1840, as exhibited in tables VI and VII, showing that the emigration from the northern states was not passing in that direction.

## VIII.

*Free colored population of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama.*

| YEARS.                       | 1790   | 1800   | 1810    | 1820    | 1830    | 1840    |
|------------------------------|--------|--------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| Total number                 | 475    | 1,050  | 3,030   | 6,353   | 11,044  | 14,880  |
| Actual increase              |        | 575    | 1,980   | 3,323   | 3,691   | 3,836   |
| Increase per cent. per annum |        | 12.10  | 18.85   | 10.96   | 7.35    | 3.47    |
| Slaves                       | 15,247 | 53,927 | 125,096 | 254,278 | 424,365 | 618,849 |



Kentucky, Tennessee, and Alabama, though for a time, receiving large accessions of free colored people emigrating, probably, from Virginia and North Carolina, westward into their bounds, seem also to have checked it, between 1830 and 1840, to a considerable extent. But as more energetic measures have since been adopted to repel all immigration, extending even to the *selling of the intruders into slavery*, as was the case last year in Ken-

tucky; the census of 1850 will no doubt exhibit a reduction of the ratio of these states, also, the natural rate of increase, if not below it.

Louisiana, alone, of all the larger slave states, has maintained a uniform increase of her free colored population. Her position on the Mississippi affords great facilities to enterprising colored men, wishing to escape from the rigors of northern winters, to penetrate her territory.

## IX.

*Free colored population of Louisiana.*

| YEARS.                       | 1790 | 1800 | 1810   | 1820   | 1830    | 1840    |
|------------------------------|------|------|--------|--------|---------|---------|
| Total number                 |      |      | 7,585  | 10,960 | 16,710  | 25,502  |
| Actual increase              |      |      |        | 3,375  | 5,750   | 8,792   |
| Increase per cent. per annum |      |      |        | 4.44   | 5.24    | 5.26    |
| Slaves                       |      |      | 34,660 | 69,064 | 109,588 | 168,452 |

In the slave states, the prejudices and the rigid laws in relation to their free colored people, will account for the losses which they have sustained. But in New York and New Jersey, some other cause must have exerted a repelling influence, or there would not have been such a desertion of that region by colored men. This cause will, we believe be found to exist in the *foreign emigration* into our country. The foreign emigrant, escaping from the tyranny of the despotisms which have so long crushed his energies, and where he had been accustomed to work for a mere subsistence, is overjoyed, on reaching this country, to receive a rate of wages for which the colored man is unwilling to labor. He is thus the most formidable rival of the colored man, and supplants him in his employments and drives him from his temporary home. But while this *rivalry of the foreigner, the prejudice of the slave holder, and the influence of climate*, seem to create insuperable obstacles to the success of any scheme of se-

curing to colored men a permanent home in the north, it affords a strong proof of the wisdom of the scheme of African Colonization, where the rivalry of white men and the influence of climate, or the prejudices against color, can never reach him or interrupt him in his pursuits.

But there is still another subject connected with the movements of the free colored people which greatly interests the citizens of Ohio. We have seen that a regular movement of the free colored population, from north to south, has been in progress ever since 1800, and that it was only checked, in its southern course, by reaching the borders of the slave states. But after 1830 this floating mass took a new direction. As the foreign emigration first touches the eastern coast, its effects are first felt there, and from thence it rolls westward. While the current of the colored emigration, therefore, is setting in from the north, it is met by this opposing tide from the east, and deflected to the west.

On turning to the west, we find

that while this continuous stream of colored emigration has been pouring out of all the states north-east, east, and south-east of us, they have been concentrating with almost equal rapidity in the Ohio valley.

## X.

*Free colored population in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.*

| YEARS.                           | 1790 | 1800 | 1810  | 1820  | 1830   | 1840   |
|----------------------------------|------|------|-------|-------|--------|--------|
| Total number                     |      | 500  | 2,905 | 6,598 | 14,834 | 28,105 |
| Actual increase                  |      |      | 2,405 | 3,693 | 8,236  | 13,271 |
| Increase per cent.<br>per annum. |      |      | 48.10 | 12.71 | 12.48  | 8.94   |

Look at the figures in table X. Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, in 1800, had 500 free persons of color in their bounds. In 1840 they numbered 28,105. If the influx, since 1840, has been as great as in the preceding period, these three states will have a free colored population, at present, of over 50,000, of which the share of Ohio is 30,000.

To afford a more striking contrast of the position in which we stand, as compared with the six New England States, it is only necessary to say, that the ratio of the annual increase of the free colored population of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, from 1820 to 1830, *doubled their numbers in eight years*, while that of the former six states would require, to double theirs, a period of *two hundred and fifty-six years*.

But to avoid a charge of unfairness in selecting a period of only ten years, and that the most favorable to our purpose, we shall extend the contrast to forty years, from 1840 back to 1800, and the result is still more startling. During this period of forty years, the six New England States did not increase their colored population quite one-third, (it was  $\frac{30}{100}$ %) while Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, have *doubled fifty-five times* on their original numbers. Our increase, therefore, when compared with theirs for a period of forty years, stands as 55 to  $\frac{1}{3}$ .

Here, now, is presented a condi-

tion of things which demands the attention of the Legislature and the people of Ohio. We have, for years, been disposed to evade the question of the provision to be made for the people of color. The causes operating to concentrate them in the Ohio valley are beyond our control, and they must continue to congregate here. Nor can we check this movement by any ordinary precautions, were we disposed to make the effort, because we cannot, by any legislation of ours, reach the causes which compel them to leave the other states. We cannot change the climate of the north-east, nor mold the African constitution so that it may endure the rigors of its winters; and much less can we impart to the colored man a spirit of energy and activity in business which shall enable him to compete with the New Englander. We are still less able to roll back the mighty wave of foreign emigration, which, annually, supplies to the east a surplus of cheap labor, and drives the man of color from his employments, and compels him to wander to the west in search of bread. And it is still more impracticable for us to induce the slave states to repeal the laws and give up the prejudices which drive out the free colored man from amongst them. The colored people, if disposed, cannot extend westward and southward. The iron wall of slavery and the

prohibitions in the new constitutions of Illinois and Iowa, will prevent emigration in that direction. They are, therefore, shut up, imprisoned among us, and instead of any diminution we must prepare for an increase of their numbers.

It is a fact well understood, that in the slave states, no movement, *involving emancipation to any great extent, can now take place except in connection with the removal of the freedmen from among them.* Some of them at present talk of emancipation and colonization in Africa, but if we should open our doors as widely as many desire, the slave holder need not tax himself with the expense of the passage of his slaves to Liberia. It will be cheaper and less troublesome to let them alone, and they will soon put themselves under the care of their loving brothers across the Ohio river. And, in adopting this course, the slave holder may feel that he is conferring a favor upon us, because, on several occasions, where masters had emancipated their slaves, and started them for Liberia, they have been persuaded to escape to Ohio or Pennsylvania.

Several of the border states will, before many years, become free states, because of the growing conviction among the people that the presence of slaves upon their soil has created a blighting influence—that it has paralyzed the physical and moral energies of the white youth—that until the slaves are removed, the sons of their yeomanry will not engage in the field labor, and that until this revolution is affected the slave states cannot prosper as the free states have done. They are further convinced that the presence of colored people, as *free laborers*, will exert equally as baneful an effect upon the industry of the whites, as the presence of the

slave has done. We have failed, in a twenty years' war of words, to change these opinions. They know that their sons scorn the idea of laboring upon an equality with men of servile origin. This may all be wrong, but that does not alter the fact. The people of the slave states will never consent to emancipation, but in connection with the removal of the freedmen. This is their fixed purpose: and any measure for the melioration of the condition of the colored man which does not include this fact, and adapt itself to it, will be so far defective.

Now, it seems evident, that to whatever extent emancipation may take place, whether by individuals or by states; and further, to whatever degree the slave states may carry their hostility to the free colored people among them, and succeed in driving them out; to the same extent may we expect to be made the receivers of the unfortunate wanderers, unless we can divert the current of emigration in some other direction.

With all these facts before us—the influence of climate—the rivalry of the foreign emigrant—the prejudices of the slave holder—the adverse legislation of the slave states—the rapid concentration of the free colored people along the southern margin of the Ohio valley—and the impracticability of their emigrating further south or west—it must be apparent, at once, that we occupy a very different position from that of the New England States and the northern counties of Ohio. We are constantly receiving large accessions from the slave states. Many of our towns and villages have had their colored population doubled since 1840, and there is no prospect, at present, of their influx being checked.

The Ohio Black Laws, though



designed, originally, to operate as a check upon colored immigration, have wholly failed of their object, and have only added another to the numerous inefficient measures adopted for protection against the evils generated by slavery—evils so numerous and complicated, that, often, the remedies applied only increase the malady.

And here we must be allowed to remark, that few men can excel our northern friends in depicting the horrors of slavery. They have studied it chiefly in that point of view. Its degrading and brutifying tendencies, generating vices the most debasing and destructive, have been portrayed, but too truly, in our hearing, by them, a thousand times. They, of course, expect us to believe their statements and to adopt their views of the odiousness of the system.

Now, in return, we ask of them that they shall believe us. And if one half they have told us be true, in relation to the low state of morals—the deep and damning depravity of the victims of slavery—then visit us with the plague, or any other *physical calamity*, rather than bring this *moral pestilence* into contact with our children. We speak but the common sentiment of the great mass of our citizens. These sentiments are not generated by hostile feelings to the colored man, any more than the missionary, who wishes to guard well the virtues of his children and impart to them a nobility of thought and sentiment, should be charged with hating the degraded Hindoo or Hottentot, for whose intellectual and moral elevation he risks his life, because he sends his children back to a Christian country to be educated by Christian friends.

Many of the first settlers of southern Ohio had fled from Virginia, Kentucky, and the Carolinas, to rear their families beyond the reach of the demoralizing effects of slavery, and in the enactment of the Black Laws they hoped to erect an impassable barrier between themselves and slavery, or any of its fruits.

It was not prejudice against color, alone, that dictated the passage of the Black Laws of Ohio, and which has kept them so long upon our statute book, but it was a dictate of self-preservation. It was a determination to confine slavery, with all its fruits, within the limits where it existed, and to guard themselves and their children against moral contamination by contact with those unfortunate beings whose deplorable degradation has been so eloquently, and often, but too truly delineated to us.

A repeal of the Black Laws may be proper;\* some modification of them, at least, is demanded. But it forms no part of the task assigned us to express an opinion on the subject. This much, however, we can say, that something more is needed than the repeal of these laws, before the colored man can have justice done him, or the public mind be satisfied with the posture of affairs.

Nor can we be persuaded that he who rarely ever sees a colored person, and who knows nothing of the unfavorable circumstances in which a majority of the colored people are placed, where they are congregated in large numbers, is the proper man to mature measures for their relief. He has not the opportunity of forming a practical judgment in the case, and his schemes, therefore, will be more apt to partake of the *visionary* than the *practicable*.

But we are told that it is our duty

\* This lecture was written before their repeal by the present Legislature.



to labor for the elevation and improvement of the colored man, and thus prepare him for citizenship. In reply, it is only necessary to say, that of the importance of this duty the friends of colonization are fully aware, and to discharge it is their direct and purposed aim; but through the unhappy opposition of their enemies, in this good work, who have assumed to be exclusively the friends of the man of color, inducing him to believe that we are his "*inveterate enemies*," we have been, to a great extent, excluded from that access to him requisite to the fulfillment of our wishes. The colored people, therefore, are not accessible to us, and the responsibility of their improvement does not rest upon us, but upon those who have them in charge. And even if they were accessible to us, and we had their confidence, should the emigration from the other states continue to be as rapid as heretofore, the execution of the task of their education would be a burden too heavy for Ohio to bear. But had we the means, the circumstances of inequality, to which reference has already been made, and which neither authoritative legislation nor the resolves of voluntary associations can remedy, forbid the hope of giving that form and measures of education requisite to qualify any man for the high duties and enjoyments of citizenship.

What then can we do? No large body of men will long remain contented in the bosom of any community or nation, unless in the enjoyment of equal social and political rights. Ignorant, and vicious, and lazy men are dangerous in any community; because, not understanding their true interests, and but little inclined to do their duty, they are easily turned into an engine of evil to society. Our own peace and safety, therefore, demand that we

should secure to our colored people *the blessings of education and the advantages of political equality.*

But we firmly believe that the first of these objects, the education of the free colored people, can only be accomplished under circumstances where the colored man can by the labor of his own hands, provide for his own wants, while he is prosecuting his studies. And we as fully believe, that such a combination of circumstances as will make the thorough education of our colored people practicable, exists only in Liberia. In that climate winter makes no demands, and the labor of one man will easily support three. Schools are already organized, and every parent is required by law to educate his children. In a climate, like ours, however, demanding almost constant labor during summer to provide for winter, and where schools are accessible to but few of the colored people, there is but little to encourage the hope that their education can become general. To this conclusion intelligent colored men themselves have arrived, and the erection of the *Colored Manual Labor School*, near Columbus, Ohio, where 200 acres of land have been secured for this object, and paid for, chiefly, by contributions from colored men—where education and labor can go hand in hand—shows the strength of the hold which this conviction has upon their minds. But the advantages of such an institution cannot be enjoyed by very many. At most, only a few hundreds can be accommodated at the same time. Such an institution, therefore, while it may be of immense advantage to a few, cannot be relied upon to secure general education; and advantageous as it may be to those few, still it will be very partial; far from reaching that high education which gives *character*,

and without which, for the standing and happiness of the citizen, mere learning is, comparatively, of little value.

We are also as fully convinced that it will be equally as impracticable, as their general education, to secure to our free colored people the advantages of *political equality* any where else than in the Republic of Liberia, or in a new one of their own creation upon that continent.

That the free colored population of our country can be raised to that degree of moral and intellectual elevation which they should possess, without the enjoyment of all the social and political privileges which are the natural birthright of man, none will pretend to claim. These blessings must be secured to them before any material advancement can be expected from them. But the opposition to granting them equal social and political privileges in Ohio is a "fixed fact." It is believed that no permanent good to the colored man could grow out of such a measure. *The granting to him the right of suffrage has been productive of no good in the states which have conceded to him that privilege.* Instead of increasing their free colored population, since that act of liberality, these states have had a regular diminution of it. The right of suffrage to the colored man, where the whites have a large preponderance of numbers, seems of about the same utility as the tin rattle, or little doll, presented to the discontented child, to amuse it and keep it from crying.

It is the settled conviction of nearly all our thinking men, that colored men, intellectually, morally, or politically, can no more flourish in the midst of the whites, than the tender sprout from the bursting acorn can have a rapid advance to maturity beneath the shade of the full-grown

oak; while the light of the sun, so essential to its growth, penetrates not through the thick foliage to impart its invigorating influences to the humble tenant of the soil; and where, each day, it is liable to be crushed under the feet of those who seek shelter from the noon-day heat beneath the boughs of its lordly superior.

This is no overwrought picture of the condition of the free colored people among us. Those stimulants to mental and moral effort, which beget such a superiority in citizens of free governments, reach not to the mind of the colored man, to rouse him to action. And so fully convinced of this fact are intelligent colored men themselves becoming, that they are beginning to act in concert in reference to securing the necessary territory to adopt a separate political organization. This affords strong grounds for hoping that the day of their political redemption is dawning. Heretofore they have been deluded with the hope that their elevation would be effected among the whites; that hope is now fading from their minds. The adoption of measures to secure a distinct political organization is an acknowledgment of the truth, *that a separation from the whites is essential to the prosperity of the colored man, and that colonization at some point offers to him his only hope of deliverance.* This is an important step in the progress toward a settlement of this vexed question.

It is true, that, at present, an eye is turned, by many of those who are agitating this subject, toward a grant of land from Congress out of the territory acquired from Mexico. As this is the only territory now at the disposal of Congress, and as the question of its future ownership will be settled during the next year, at furthest, there will soon be a decision of that matter. Out of that ter-

ritory, if any where on the continent, must the donation of lands be made for the future African state. And upon it, or to Liberia, must the wave of emigration roll when it recedes from our borders.

Here, then, we perceive that this question is assuming a new and definite form. *A separate political organization* is desired by many of the colored men. But they think Liberia is too distant, and too unhealthy, and therefore wish a grant out of New Mexico or California. There is, perhaps, not a man in this audience, nor in the north, who would object to such a grant for such a purpose, so far as the grant of United States property is concerned. Your speaker, for his part, is willing to raise up both hands and shout at the topmost pitch of his voice, in the ears of Congress, to secure it, if he thought it could be obtained, and that it would, to the occupant, be a peaceful possession, and safe for the country. But he believes it is idle, it is wicked, longer to keep the poor colored man pursuing phantoms which always must elude his grasp. We say, frankly, that we have no hope that such a grant of territory can be had from Congress. And even if it could, dare we hope that it would prove a peaceful home, such as prudent Christian men would wish to leave as a legacy to their children? Its proximity to the slave states, it is feared, might lead to continual collisions.

It is useless, however, to discuss this question, because, whenever our intelligent colored men are put in possession of the facts in relation to Liberia, they must greatly prefer it to any point on this continent.

We are aware that some of the colored orators declaim loudly against any attempts to persuade the free colored people to emigrate to Africa, while *three millions* of their brethren

remain behind in slavery. Now, it is very natural that a benevolent heart should dictate such feelings, and we must respect their motives. But we would remind all such objectors to emigration to Liberia, that while three millions of their brethren are enchained here, there are, according to the best authorities, one hundred and ten millions in Africa, *eighty millions* of whom are of their own caste, including, no doubt, their own blood relations, who are mostly crushed under a system of oppression and of cruelty, and reduced to a condition of moral degradation, compared with which, American slavery, with all its woes, is bliss itself. These eighty millions of men are nearly all destitute of the gospel of Christ, and, consequently, *without the elements of an intellectual and moral renovation*. The sale of their brethren into slavery, excepting in a few sunny spots, illuminated by Christian colonies, still continues with all its attendant horrors. The slave trade, baffling the utmost exertions, for its suppression, is still prosecuted with unabated vigor. "Its wretched victims are still found wedged together in the foul and close recesses of the slave ships, with scarcely space enough to each for the heart to swell in the agony of its despair." All hope that it can be suppressed by operations *on the ocean* are at an end. It must be assailed where it originated—*on the land*. The instrumentality to be employed must be that which the result of long experience dictates—the *gospel*. The agents to perform this great work are as clearly designated—*colored Christian colonists*. This combined agency of the *gospel and colonization* has already begun to redress the wrongs of Africa. "It is fast restoring a continent shrouded in the darkness of accumulated centuries, to the lights of civilization and Christianity.



It is opening up to that degraded and impoverished people, new sources of prosperity and new fields of enterprise in the boundless resources of that great continent." The agencies so successfully begun by the colonization scheme, need only to be sufficiently augmented to secure the regeneration of Africa.

Then, with such ample provision made for the free colored man, and with such a field of future greatness and of glory opening up before him, why should he not be encouraged, and why not *aided*, to enter upon his rich inheritance, instead of begging for a home on this continent, where, at best, his future prospects would be overcast with gloom. Does the man of color wish to speak to the southern slave-holder in tones

that can be heard and will be respected? instead of relying upon *the feeble cry of three and a half millions* in this country, Africa has *eighty millions of voices* which he may control, and whose united shout for freedom to the slave, would shake the fetters from his limbs and give him liberty.

#### IV. The practicability of colonizing the free people of color.

The best mode of discussing the practicability of any scheme, is, first to ascertain what is to be accomplished. The following list of the twenty-four principal states, and the number of free colored people in each, in 1840, presents the amount of persons to be provided for, and the manner of their distribution throughout the Union.

|                |        |               |        |              |        |
|----------------|--------|---------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| Maine,         | 1,355  | Pennsylvania, | 47,854 | Tennessee,   | 5,524  |
| N. Hampshire,  | 537    | Ohio,         | 17,342 | N. Carolina, | 22,732 |
| Massachusetts, | 8,669  | Indiana,      | 7,165  | S. Carolina, | 8,276  |
| Rhode Island,  | 3,238  | Illinois,     | 3,598  | Georgia,     | 2,753  |
| Connecticut,   | 8,105  | Delaware,     | 16,919 | Mississippi, | 1,366  |
| Vermont,       | 730    | Maryland,     | 62,020 | Missouri,    | 1,574  |
| New York,      | 50,027 | Virginia,     | 49,842 | Alabama,     | 2,039  |
| New Jersey,    | 21,044 | Kentucky,     | 7,317  | Louisiana,   | 25,502 |

It will be seen, under our first head, that the number of human beings torn from Africa, on American account alone, in 1847, all of whom, perhaps, were for the Brazilian market, amounted to 84,356. Now, we would ask whether this fact does not furnish a useful lesson upon the subject of the practicability of colonization *from the United States to Africa*.

*The total annual increase of the*

*whole colored population of the United States, slave and free, from 1830 to 1840, was 54,356, or, 30,000 less than the exports of slaves, in 1847, from Africa for the American market.*

*The whole number of the free colored population of the United States, in 1840, was 386,235, or only a little over four and a half times greater than one year's importation from Africa.*

(To be concluded in our next.)

#### Arrival of the Huma.

THE barque "Huma," chartered by the American Colonization Society, which sailed from Savannah on the 14th May, with one hundred and eighty-three passengers, arrived at Sinoe, Liberia, on the 27th June.

A letter from the captain says that two of the passengers, children, died on the passage. Both of them had been sick from their birth. The rest of the passengers were in good health.

## Receipts of the American Colonization Society;

From the 20th of September, to the 20th of October, 1849.

## MAINE.

|                                                                                                 |       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| By Rev. M. G. Pratt:                                                                            |       |
| <i>Bangor</i> —Collection in Hammond street Church.....                                         | 19 40 |
| <i>Brewer</i> —Collection to constitute the Rev. Nathan Dole, a life member of the A. C. S..... | 30 00 |
|                                                                                                 | 49 40 |

## VERMONT.

|                                                                        |        |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Rutland</i> —Dr. Joel Green, through his brother Horace Green, Esq. | 100 00 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|

## MASSACHUSETTS.

|                                                                                                                                                                                   |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Newburyport</i> —From the Ladies' Colonization Society, \$30 of which is to constitute Mrs. Mary Greenleaf, a life member of the A. C. S., by Mrs. Harriet Sanborn, Sec'y..... | 56 00 |
| <i>Falmouth</i> —From Rev. H. B. Hooker's congregation, by Rev. H. B. Hooker.....                                                                                                 | 10 00 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                   | 66 00 |

## NEW YORK.

|                                  |      |
|----------------------------------|------|
| <i>Albany</i> —From J. A. W..... | 3 00 |
|----------------------------------|------|

## NEW JERSEY.

|                                                                                                                              |       |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Pitts Grove</i> —Annual contribution of the Presbyterian Church, \$10, Female Col. Soc., \$10, by Rev. G. W. Janvier..... | 20 00 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|

## DELAWARE.

|                                         |       |
|-----------------------------------------|-------|
| By Rev. J. N. Danforth:                 |       |
| <i>Wilmington</i> —Joseph Tatnall, Esq. | 10 00 |

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Washington City</i> —Dr. W. Gunton, to constitute Rev. Wm. Ives Budington, of Charlestown, Ms. a life member of the A. C. S., \$30, Collection in the first Presbyterian Church, by Rev. Elisha Ballantine, \$27 90..... | 57 90 |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|

## VIRGINIA.

|                                                                                                                                                 |       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Petersburg</i> —Josephus Hurt, Esq., annual subscription.....                                                                                | 10 00 |
| <i>Roanoke Bridge</i> —From Jacob Morton, Esq., to constitute the Rev. Elisha Ballantine, of Washington City, a life member of the A. C. S..... | 30 00 |
|                                                                                                                                                 | 40 00 |

## OHIO.

|                                                                                                                                                                                   |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Xenia</i> —From the Greene County Col. Society, \$20, being a collection taken in Rev. H. McMillan's congregation, Mrs. M. Galloway, \$10, by Jas. Gowdy, Esq., Treasurer..... | 30 00 |
| <i>Franklin</i> —From individuals, by Rev. Ira Tracy.....                                                                                                                         | 10 00 |

|                                                                                               |       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| <i>Freedom</i> —Collection in the Congregational Church and Society, by Rev. Ira Tracy.....   | 20 00 |
| <i>Cambridge</i> —Fourth July collection in the Presbyterian Church, by Rev. Wm. Wallace..... | 13 00 |
|                                                                                               | 73 00 |

## INDIANA.

By Rev. James Mitchell:

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| <i>Tippecanoe County</i> —A. Ford, \$5, C. Roope, S. Mustard, J. M. Chester, Wm. Buck, William Mustard, Dr. D. Detare, J. Switzer, A. C. Tullis, J. Henderson, J. Murdock, J. R. Kizer, A. J. Yager, J. Rinckenman, G. Mustard, C. Morrison, J. E. Heald, J. Kinkade, Wm. Murdock, E. Murdock, D. D. Tullis, A. Ralph, A. E. Denning, S. Bennet, J. P. Ellis, and Mr. Taylor, each \$1, to constitute J. M. Chester, Esq., a life member of the American Colonization Society—\$30; J. Hawkins, Wm. Richey, D. Gouger, J. Souiker, T. James, A. Taylor, Mrs. Anderson, each \$2, H. Waggoner, W. Buck, A. M. Hale, S. Virdin, A. Virdin, S. Virdin, T. Paget, J. Carter, Sam. Virdin, D. Virdin, B. Hawkins, A. Hollingsworth, Wm. Hawkins, D. Baker, G. Buss, Wm. Hoyt, each \$1, to constitute A. Ford, Esq., a life member of the American Colonization Soc.—\$30; T. Boyer, J. Reed, each \$5, J. Boyer, \$4, M. Shagley, \$3, J. G. Osburn, Wm. Foster, each \$2, S. Sapping, J. Foster, J. Moore, W. C. Harris, G. Brown, J. Best, each \$1, Wm. M. Nagile, \$1 50, J. Cary, G. Martin, J. Doherty, each 50 cents, to constitute J. G. Osborn, M. D., a life member of the American Colonization Society—\$30; I. Shelby, Esq., first payment on his life membership, \$10, Rev. J. Hoffman, J. McFarlin, each \$1, T. A. Stretch, 50 cents..... | 102 50 |
| <i>Tippecanoe &amp; Warren Counties</i> —H. Clark, J. S. Vannetta, L. Foster, each \$5, Rev. W. F. Wheeler, Dr. Osburn, Mrs. S. Haigh, each \$2, Dr. Harris, J. Mathers, each \$1 50, J. Hale, J. W. Bigger, H. Parrish, J.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |        |

|                                          |            |  |
|------------------------------------------|------------|--|
| Shagley, T. Boyer, each \$1,             |            |  |
| Miss R. Vannetta, 50 cents, J.           |            |  |
| Clavender, J. Hale, each 25              |            |  |
| cents, to constitute Rev. Wm.            |            |  |
| F. Wheeler, a life member of             |            |  |
| the Am. Col. Society.....                | 30 00      |  |
| <i>Warren County</i> —G. Woolfer, G.     |            |  |
| Johnson, N. Morgan, E. More,             |            |  |
| Rev. Wm. Brown, each \$5, J.             |            |  |
| Cowgill, \$2, J. Doherty, G.             |            |  |
| Davis, J. Shawcross, each \$1,           |            |  |
| to constitute Rev. Wm. Brown,            |            |  |
| a life member of the American            |            |  |
| Colonization Society; T. John-           |            |  |
| son, Esq., \$10, J. Medscar, \$5,        |            |  |
| J. Ridinour, J. Harrison, H.             |            |  |
| Miller, Wm. G. Montgomery,               |            |  |
| each \$3, J. M. Waggoner, G.             |            |  |
| Little, S. St. John, J. Medscar,         |            |  |
| T. Ridinour, each \$2, H. Sharp,         |            |  |
| S. Benson, E. Thomas, each \$1,          |            |  |
| to constitute Rev. J. S. Donald-         |            |  |
| son, a life member of the Am.            |            |  |
| Col. Soc.; J. Dawson, J. H.              |            |  |
| Robbins, D. H. Connel, Wm.               |            |  |
| Hooker, J. Medscar, J. Roose,            |            |  |
| J. A. Fenton, A. Fisher, A.              |            |  |
| Slayback, ea. \$1, Y. F. Tennin,         |            |  |
| Wm. H. Burk, J. Wood, T.                 |            |  |
| Odel, J. Boyer, J. E. Fenton,            |            |  |
| J. Freeman, J. Foster, Wm.               |            |  |
| Cochran, Wm. Dawson, T.                  |            |  |
| Ford, of Tippecanoe County,              |            |  |
| each 50 cents, H. Campbell,              |            |  |
| D. R. Sewell, J. K. Wood, A              |            |  |
| friend, each 25 cents.....               | 85 50      |  |
| <i>Henry County</i> —J. B. Low.....      | 1 00       |  |
| <i>Delaware County</i> —Dr. S. P. An-    |            |  |
| thony, Dr. R. R. Sherwood,               |            |  |
| Rev. R. Irwine, D. D., J. C.             |            |  |
| Helm, each \$1, J. S. Wane, S.           |            |  |
| W. Harlin, T. S. Neely, T. A.            |            |  |
| Burt, each 50 cents, M. L.               |            |  |
| Neely, 20 cents.....                     | 6 20       |  |
| <i>Madison County</i> —Rev. Wm. J.       |            |  |
| Forbs, Rev. J. B. Mashong, P.            |            |  |
| Levar, each \$1.....                     | 3 00       |  |
| <i>Hamilton County</i> —H. Gay, W.       |            |  |
| H. Wooster, J. G. Barns, each            |            |  |
| \$1, J. Loots, J. T. Patterson,          |            |  |
| Jacob Loots, J. D. Stevenson,            |            |  |
| J. D. Cottingham, each 50 cts.,          |            |  |
| J. Jontus, J. Loots, each 25             |            |  |
| cents, A friend, 20 cents, H.            |            |  |
| Mallery, 40 cents.....                   | 6 60       |  |
| <i>Carroll County</i> —Dr. J. R. Blan-   |            |  |
| chard, J. Stouffer, each \$1, J.         |            |  |
| W. Pigman, J. H. Boydan,                 |            |  |
| Wm. Dunkle, each 50 cents, E.            |            |  |
| W. Hubbard, S. D. McIntosh,              |            |  |
| M. Simpson, G. Gilford, J. D.            |            |  |
| Simpson, A. Linville, Rev. E.            |            |  |
| W. Wright, Rev. J. W. Parret,            |            |  |
| A friend, each 25 cents.....             | 7 55       |  |
| <i>Terre Haute</i> —Collection in the    |            |  |
| second Presbyterian Church, by           |            |  |
| Rev. M. A. Jewett, \$6, collec-          |            |  |
| tion in Rev. M. G. Wallace's             |            |  |
| congregation, \$5.....                   | 11 00      |  |
| <i>Wabash town</i> —Rev. T. C. Townsend, |            |  |
| <i>Princeton</i> —Collection in Rev. A.  |            |  |
| T. Hendrick's congregation...            | 5 00       |  |
| <i>Sand Creek</i> —Collection in Rev.    |            |  |
| John C. King's congregation..            | 5 50       |  |
|                                          | 263 50     |  |
| MISSISSIPPI.                             |            |  |
| <i>Louisville</i> —L. Keese, Esq.....    | 20 00      |  |
| Total Contributions.....                 | \$701 95   |  |
| FOR REPOSITORY.                          |            |  |
| MASSACHUSETTS.— <i>Lowell</i> —By Rev.   |            |  |
| John Orcutt: John O. Benthall,           |            |  |
| Isaac Scripture, William Spen-           |            |  |
| cer, O. H. Perry, Frederick              |            |  |
| Parker, Esq., Isaac Farming-             |            |  |
| ton, Rev. J. L. Fletcher, Wm.            |            |  |
| G. Baker, each \$1, to Sept. '50,        |            |  |
| N. Critchett, to March, '50, 50          |            |  |
| cts., Dr. Nathan Allen, Wm.              |            |  |
| Williams, J. Coggin, jr., Mar-           |            |  |
| tin N. Horn, Samuel Horn,                |            |  |
| Gardner & Wilson, Rev. J. D.             |            |  |
| Williamson, Dr. Daniel Scott,            |            |  |
| Dr. H. Pillsbury, P. A. King,            |            |  |
| Cyrus Chambers, Luth. Eames,             |            |  |
| Cyril French, Joseph Butter-             |            |  |
| field, Esq., Thomas Nesmith,             |            |  |
| T. Wentworth, Esq., each \$1,            |            |  |
| to Oct. '50. <i>Upton</i> —Maj. Eli      |            |  |
| Warren, for '48 and '49, \$2 50,         |            |  |
| Dea. William Hale, for '50, \$1.         |            |  |
| <i>Harvard</i> —Dea. J. N. Stone, for    |            |  |
| '50, \$1. <i>Lynn</i> —George N. Tar-    |            |  |
| box, to Sept. '50, \$1, William          |            |  |
| M. Ladd, to Sept. '50, \$1.....          | 31 00      |  |
| NEW YORK.— <i>New York City</i> —        |            |  |
| New York State Colonization              |            |  |
| Society, on account of the Afri-         |            |  |
| can Repository, \$300, N. Y.             |            |  |
| Journal of Commerce for '49, \$1.        | 301 00     |  |
| VIRGINIA.— <i>Morgansville</i> —John A.  |            |  |
| Bridgland, Esq. to Sept. '50, \$1.       |            |  |
| <i>Brownsburgh</i> —Capt. H. Adams,      |            |  |
| to Aug. '50, \$1. <i>Pattonsburgh</i>    |            |  |
| —Mrs. Eleanor Goodwin, to                |            |  |
| Aug. '50, \$1. <i>Lexington</i> —Rev.    |            |  |
| Thos. N. Paxton, for '49, \$1..          | 4 00       |  |
| INDIANA.— <i>Poolsville</i> —J. Boyer,   |            |  |
| Esq., to Oct. '50.....                   | 1 00       |  |
| WISCONSIN.— <i>Racine</i> —Rev. Persis   |            |  |
| M. Bliss, to Sept. '50.....              | 1 00       |  |
| Total Repository.....                    | 338 00     |  |
| Total Contributions.....                 | 701 95     |  |
| Aggregate Amount.....                    | \$1,039 95 |  |

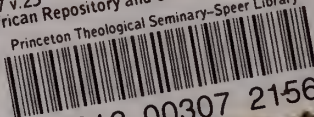






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